

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-07 SP-03 SS-20 RSC-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 ACDA-19 AEC-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00

PA-04 USIA-15 PRS-01 DRC-01 NEA-14 EB-11 FEA-02 SWF-02

AGR-20 /176 W

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R 101941Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0732

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 16829

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, FR

SUBJECT: ARTICLE BY RAYMOND ARON ON DETENTE AND EUROPE

REF: PARIS 16626; PARIS 16677

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. FINAL ARTICLE IN ARON'S SERIES ON DETENTE IS DEVOTED TO ITS EFFECT ON EUROPE. HE ARGUES THAT US-SOVIET AGREEMENTS HAVE NOT JEOPARDIZED EUROPEAN SECURITY, ENDORSES THE SECRETARY'S EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SEEMS TO FAVOR GREATER ALLIED COORDINATION OF DETENTE POLICIES. HOWEVER, HE CONCLUDES THAT THE PRIMARY FACTORS ALTERING EUROPE'S POSITION ON THE WORLD SCENE ARE NOT RELATED TO DETENTE. THEY ARE RATHER THE INCREASE IN FUEL PRICES AND INFLATION, AND THE RESULT HAS BEEN TO AUGMENT THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AND DEMONSTRATE FRENCH EPENDENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. ARON BEGINS BY NOTING THAT THE US-SOVIET AGREEMENTS AT THE FIRST TWO SUMMITS, AND IN PARTICULAR THE AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, WERE RECEIVED IN FRANCE WITH MIXED FEELINGS AND ANXIETY IN OFFICIAL CIRCLES.

"WHEN M. JOBERT DENOUNCED 'CONDOMINIUM' HE WAS PROBABLY EXPRESSING IN EXTREME FORM THE THOUGHTS OR THE ULTERIOR

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MOTIVES OF GEORGES POMPIDOU." NOT EVEN THE MIDDLE EAST

WAR ALTERED THIS INTERPRETATION, WHICH BECAME A CLICHE OR DOGMA. "THE ATTEMPTS, CONDEMNED IN ADVANCE, TO DEFINE A COMMON POLICY OF THE NINE TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST UNDER THE DIRECTION OF FRANCE AND IN OPPOSITION TO AMERICAN POLICY CAN BE EXPLAINED, IN PART AT LEAST, AS A REACTION TO THE RUSSIAN-AMERICAN DIALOGUE."

3. ARON ARGUES, HOWEVER, THAT "THIS DIALOGUE DOES NOT ALTER THE CONDITIONS OF EUROPEAN OR FRENCH SECURITY." NOTING THAT THE THREAT OF SOVIET AGGRESSION HAS RECEDED, THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER THE U.S. WOULD USE ALL ITS ARMS TO DEFEND ITS ALLIES, GIVEN ITS TERRITORIAL VULNERABILITY IN AN AGE OF NUCLEAR EQUALITY. TO THOSE WHO POSE THIS QUESTION, ARON REPLIES THAT, WHILE ONE CANNOT BE CATEGORIC, THE NIXON-BREZHNEV AGREEMENT GIVES GROUNDS FOR CONFIDENCE. "DETENTE DOES NOT EXCLUDE DETERRENCE (THE ALERT OF LAST OCTOBER SHOWED THAT); IT DOES IMPOSE A CERTAIN MODERATION. AT THE WORST, IT LEAVES THE EUROPEANS IN THE SAME SITUATION AS BEFORE."

4. TURNING HIS ATTENTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST, HE NOTES THAT THE EUROPEANS WERE REDUCED TO SPECTATORS DURING THE WAR AND THE U.S. HAD A MONOPOLY ON ACTION. "HOWEVER, NEITHER FRANCE NOR ANY OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRY HELD GOOD CARDS." IT WAS THEREFORE NECESSARY FOR THE SECRETARY "TO ACHIEVE, AFTER THE CEASE-FIRE, A SEPARATION OF FORCES BEFORE THE EUROPEAN-ARAB NEGOTIATIONS COULD BEGIN." THE DEPENDENCE OF EUROPE ON NEAR AND MIDDLE EASTERN OIL IS A FACT. IT DOES NOT HELP TO CURSE REALITY INSTEAD OF SEEKING THE LEAST DAMAGING WAY OUT POSSIBLE.

5. AS FOR THE CSCE AND MBFR, ARON CITES FEARS THAT THE U.S. IS LESS DEMANDING OR MORE INDIFFERENT THAN THE FRENCH OR THE GERMANS WOULD LIKE. HE CALLS FOR THE EUROPEANS TO ASSERT THEMSELVES. POMPIDOU'S NIGHTMARE OF EUROPEAN NEUTRALIZATION WOULD REQUIRE A MORAL CAPITULATION WHICH NEITHER THE RUSSIANS NOR THE AMERICANS COULD IMPOSE. IF THE EUROPEANS ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN THEY WOULD HAVE ONLY THEMSELVES TO BLAME.

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6. ARON GOES ON TO SAY THAT US-SOVIET DETENTE, LIKE BRANDT'S OSTPOLITIK IS A FACT WHICH FRENCH DIPLOMACY MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT. ONE COULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE COULD CONDUCT DETENTE JOINTLY, OR AT LEAST IN CONCERT. HOWEVER, IT WAS FRANCE IN THE FIRST PLACE, WHICH WANTED TO CONDUCT IT ALONE AND IN ITS OWN WAY. THEREFORE, FRENCH LEADERS CAN HARDLY REPROACH

THEIR ALLIES FOR FOLLOWING THE FRENCH EXAMPLE. HOWEVER,  
"DETENTE CONDUCTED IN A DISPERSED MANNER DOES NOT EXCLUDE  
DIPLOMATIC COORDINATION IN ORDER TO AVOID ECONOMIC COM-  
PETITION OR POLITICAL RIVALRY."

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7. ACCORDING TO ARON, IT IS NOT DETENTE THAT HAS "ALL  
OF A SUDDEN CHANGED THE POSITION OF PIECES ON THE WORLD  
CHESSBOARD." IT IS RATHER THE QUADRUPLING OF THE PRICE  
OF HYDROCARBONS AND THE DIZZY ACCELERATION OF WORLD  
INFLATION. AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, AND PERHAPS  
FOR THE NEXT TEN, THE POSITION OF EUROPE WILL BE SIGNI-  
FICANTLY WORSENERED IN COMPARISON WITH THE U.S. "THE  
UNITED STATES HAS RECOVERED A PREDOMINENCE WHICH IT HAD  
PARTIALLY LOST. ABOVE ALL, AGRICULTURAL SURPLUSES WILL  
SERVE AS A SOURCE OF HARD CURRENCY FOR THE U.S. AND WILL  
BE "AN INCOMPARABLE INSTRUMENT OF DIPLOMACY." EVEN IF  
THE FRG IS ABLE TO BALANCE ITS ACCOUNTS, ARON DOUBTS  
THAT FRANCE WILL BE ABLE TO DO THIS IN THE SHORT TERM.  
FURTHERMORE, THE RECYCLING OF ARAB DOLLARS WILL DEPEND  
ON U.S. MONETARY AUTHORITIES. BECAUSE OF THE MUCH

GREATER SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF THE U.S. IN COMPARISON WITH  
EUROPE AND JAPAN IN RAW MATERIALS AND FOODSTUFFS, A  
DISPARITY HAS DEVELOPED WHICH, ACCORDING TO ARON, "SEEMS  
RADICAL AND PERHAPS DRAMATIC." DESPITE THE ATTEMPTS OF  
THOSE ADHERENTS OF FRENCH OR EUROPEAN NATIONALISM TO  
FIND THE TROJAN HORSE OF ATLANTICISM AT EVERY TURN, THE  
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FRENCH ECONOMY IS BECOMING, "WHETHER THEY LIKE IT OR  
NOT, MORE DEPENDENT THAN EVER, FOR THE PROSPERITY OF ALL  
AND OF EACH ONE, ON THE WESTERN ENTIRETY." THEREFORE,  
"THE AGGRESSIVENESS OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES IN  
COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COMMON MARKET IS  
BECOMING NECESSARILY TOLERABLE." THE CRIES OF FRENCH  
NATIONALISTS, EVEN IF SUBDUED, THEREFORE, "ARE  
BECOMING POSITIVELY GROTESQUE."  
IRWIN

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